1: Hoebel E-5 (1933) 1940 NO6 Comanche NO6

by the aid and example of their Kiowa associates with whom they ended their enmity in 1790,[7] the Comanches succeeded in adopting the war patterns of the Plains with complete success. The war ideal permeated male behavior and markedly colored their legal system. Out of this matrix the Comanche brought new and significant legal forms. The society was in a dynamic state of flux; institutions were not sharply drawn, nor were the Comanches generally conscious of the configuration of their own social forms. They lived a hard, fast-moving life in a world of change, in which the individual loomed large as the important social unit.

TRIBAL ORGANIZATION

There was no political unit which could be termed the Comanche tribe. The tribe was no more than a congerie of bands held together as a peace-group by the bonds of a common tongue and culture. There appears to have been no machinery for institutionalized political action on a tribal scale. It is the present belief of the Comanches that Echo Of The Wolf's Howl[8] convened the first tribal council of the Comanches in order to debate the problem of peace with the United States at the time of the proposal of the Medicine Lodge Treaty in 1876. War between the several bands never occurred, although the warriors of the Swift Stingers band joined with the United States Army as scouts in the actions against the other Comanches in the 1870's. They are still thoroughly disliked by all other Comanches.

The population of the Comanche tribe was distributed among a number of autonomous bands, each loosely organized and each centering its activities in a vaguely defined territory within the Comanche country.[9]

The Comanche band, or local group, ranged in size from a single family camping alone, through the small camp of related individuals who formed a composite extended family, up to the large band of several hundred persons.

Clan organization was absent. The kinship principle was weak even within the extended family band.[10] For though groups of relatives tended to

[7] James Mooney, *Calendar History of the Kiowa* (Report, Bureau of American Ethnology, vol. 17, 1898), pp. 162–165.

[8] A phonetic transcription of personal names used in this monograph is given in Appendix C.

[9] Mooney's estimate as to the prehistoric Comanche population is 7,000 for the year 1690. *The Aboriginal Population of America North of Mexico* (Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections, vol. 80, 1928), p. 13. In 1892 the population was 1,545. (Mooney, *Calendar History*, p. 235).

[10] Comanche kinship usages have been analysed by the author and compared to those of the Shoshone. Cf. E. A. Hoebel, *Comanche and Hɜkandikɨa Shoshone Relationship Systems* (American Anthropologist, vol. 41, 1939), pp. 440–457.

1: Hoebel E-5 (1933) 1940 NO6 Comanche NO6

621 camp together, even within the large bands, the linkage of the person to the band was on the basis of free association. Marriage was commonly intra-band when a person was a member of a larger group, but there was no fixed rule of residence. Since marriage seems to have been to a great extent within the band, a couple lived customarily in the same group as both their parents. Boys of adolescent age lived in small tipis of their own, to facilitate sister-avoidance and to prepare them for vision experience. To this lodge, which was set near that of his parents, a boy brought his wife, until a growing family necessitated her building a larger dwelling. In this and in certain other respects, Comanche residence was semi-patrilocal. Children, as a result, usually belonged to the band of the father.

But, except for habituation, there was nothing to prevent change of residence to another band at any time, mere whim being sufficient cause. With a good deal of inter-visiting going on, temporary changes were frequent. An "immigrant" simply moved in. No permission was necessary. Under such circumstances rigorous superimposed control of the individual in matters of ordinary concern was impossible. Conditions were favorable for the relative individualism upon which the Comanche relied in governing his life. Mobility ever provided a way of avoiding the legal consequences of a wrong. In several instances we found that a culprit joined a new band where the aggrieved might never have occasion to meet him.

What constituted a Comanche local group is not a problem to be settled by monistic definition. Only the larger bands received permanent recognition and a name. Thus it is not possible to state precisely how many Comanche bands there were. Mooney[11] in 1912 listed thirteen Comanche bands. Neighbors[12] in 1860 listed but eight. Lowie[13] in 1912 recorded four.

Thirteen bands were listed by the Comanche informants used in this investigation in 1933. Multiple names were used in a number of instances for a single band. These have been equated in the list given below.[14] Band names given by Mooney and Neighbors, for which no equivalents were recorded by the Sante Fe Laboratory Field Study Group, are given in the

[11] James Mooney, *Comanche*, (Handbook of American Indians North of Mexico, ed. F. H. Hodge, Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 30, vol. 1, 1907), pp. 328–329.

[12] R. S. Neighbors, *The Na-uni, or Comanches of Texas; Their Traits and Beliefs, and Their Divisions and Intertribal Relations* (History of the Indian Tribes of the United States, vol. 2, 1861), pp. 130–131.

[13] R. H. Lowie. *Dances and Societies of the Plains Shoshone* (Anthropological Papers, American Museum of Natural History, vol. 11, 1916), p. 813.

[14] Key to symbols used in the list of Comanche bands: * for names recorded by the Laboratory, † for names recorded by Mooney, ‡ for names recorded by Neighbors. Lowie gives the first four names in the list.

1: Hoebel E-5 (1933) 1940 NO6 Comanche NO6

phonetic transcription as published by their authors. The first four bands listed are the largest and most important of all Comanche band units. (62)

1. nɔ'yɛka*† (Those Who Move Often); sometimes called dɜ'tsanɔ'yɛka*† (Moving About Camping In Bad Places); also nɔ'koni*†‡ (Those Who Turn Back).
2. kwɜhárɪɛnɜ*† (Antelope); sometimes called kwáhihɜkɛnɜ*† (Carrying A Sunshade On Their Backs).
3. yápainɜ*† (Eater Of yɛp, a potato-like root); also yamparika†, ditsakana†, widyu†.
4. pénanɜ:*† (Wasp, or Quick-Stinger, i.e., raider); also called pɛ'natɜkɜ* (Honey Eater) and penande†; ho-is‡ (Timber People). This band led in the southward migration and lived deepest to the south in the Texas country.
5. ʇásipɛnanɜ* The ʇási were an Apache band which joined with a group from the pénanɜ: to form a separate "Comanche" band.
6. ɔtɛ́ta'o* (Burnt-Meat), so-called because they habitually prepared more pemmican than they could consume in a winter; the surplus they threw out in the sping; other Indians seeing their dumps of dried, black meat dubbed them with this name.
7. páhuɪaix* (Water Horse), a band with reputedly taller and slimmer physique than most Comanches, "fast runners who always won at La Crosse." par-kee-na-um‡ (Water People), always camped near water.
8. ku'tsuɛka*†‡ (Meat Eaters), always had plenty of buffalo meat; also noted as a band always out on raids.
9. mu'tsanɜ*† (Undercut Bank), from location under an overhanging cliff.
10. wi'a'nɜ* (Hill Wearing Away), from location of main camp between a large hill and a small one which was rapidly eroding.
11. wɔ'ai* (Lots Of Maggots On The Penis), also námasɜne* (Something Together), from reputed incestuous practice.
12. pánaixtɜ* (Those Who Live Higher), located on the high side of a creek.
13. tɜ'sakɜnanɜ* (Those Who Make Bags While Moving), manufactured parfleches on the march.

3:Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933, 1945)1952
NO6 Comanche NO6

Meeting of the Dragoons and Comanches in 1834
From George Catlin, *North American Indians* (1857)

[Facing p. 14]

A Comanche camp
From George Catlin, *North American Indians* (1857)

1: Hoebel E-5 (1933) 1940 NO6 Comanche NO6

621 Each local group, whatever its size, had at least one permanent leader. In the small groups of a few lodges he was an outstanding person of ability and influence to whom lesser relatives and friends looked for guidance. He was the focal point of organization in their lives. The organization of such groups, so far as can be determined, was markedly similar to that which was characteristic for the aboriginal groups of the Great Basin in the days preceding white contact, as summarized by Dr. Julian Steward.[15] In the larger bands the identity of the "extended family group" was submerged in the more embracing organization of the band, but not wholly lost. "Relatives tended to camp together." Whenever the band camp was moved, the same grouping of relatives tended to find its position in the new camp by establishing its location in relation to other "groups of relatives," so that the pattern of spacing within the camp retained a certain regularity. The large bands camped and functioned as units only during the summer season of dances and communal buffalo hunts. For a portion of the year the band was scattered and subdivided. Our data are not absolutely clear on this point, but the implication is that the break-up of the band was into the smaller "groups of relatives," including, of course, the families of friends drawn within the orbit of the group. The family headmen, of which there was one for each camp-group, were the *ράαιβο*, or peace chiefs (to distinguish them from the war leaders) of the band. When the compound band was camping [623] and moving together as a unit it then contained several peace chiefs. On these occasions the peace chiefs appointed one of their number as leader for the season, with the remainder of the chiefs functioning as an advisory council for the group as a whole and at the same time maintaining their positions as family headmen to their own groups of followers.

THE ECONOMIC BASE[16]

238 It is usual to speak of the Comanches as a tribe of hunters. Insofar as they depended primarily on game for sustenance, this is true. But it is equally true, and usually overlooked, that they were just as definitely a pastoral people. Great herds of horses were accumulated. The most notable form of [422] wealth was in this form of chattel: horses were individually owned by both men and women.

Though the horse was not a primary source of food, stories and case

[15] Julian Steward, *Basin-Plateau Aboriginal Sociopolitical Groups* (Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 120, 1938).

[16] The description of the material culture of the Comanches is a subject for separate treatment. This section is intended to serve merely as an orientation to Comanche subsistence methods.

3: Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933, 1945) 1952
NO6 Comanche NO6

Comanchería

Comanches and their Kiowa allies preferred to camp near a running stream in open timber. Along meandering creek valleys toward the headwaters of larger streams, where there were adequate canyons, arroyos, and breaks for protection, abundant grass for the large horse herds, ample buffalo and antelope for food, wood for the campfires, and sweet water for drinking, were to be found the Comanche villages. A large camp sometimes extended several miles along a stream or forest edge. A Comanche village which lay east of the Wichita Mountains in 1834 is reported to have extended along Cache Creek from Medicine Bluff north to Chandler Creek and southward to Wolf Creek, a distance of fifteen miles.[20]

Within the camp itself there appears to have been no required plan. If the terrain was favorable, the lodges might be grouped in a rough circular fashion about the lodge of the chief. In another village, the lodges might appear to follow a rectangular plan. There were usually as many groups of lodges as there were leaders, the lodges of the most important men being located nearest that of the leader.[21] There was no privacy in the camp, for neighbors entered and left a tipi at will. While busy wives performed their daily tasks of preparing food, tanning hides, and making tipis and clothes, the men spent their time discussing matters of general import, raiding, hunting, making weapons, or simply idling the hours away at sleep or play, and the children shouted at play or assisted their mothers with their work. In the evenings or on any unusual occasion, the whole camp gave vent to joy or sorrow, anger or enthusiasm, by positive, and at times noisy and colorful, demonstrations. Innumerable lanky, ferocious dogs greeted the approaching stranger by day or gave forth in unison to warn their masters of danger by night.

But what had been a noisy camp could become within a few minutes a lonely prairie with little evidence of previous habitation. On the day before the move, the camp crier rode through the camp making the announcement and describing the new location. The next morning the women were in a hurry to pack and be on their way, for those who were first might obtain choice sites in the new camp. One end

[20] W. S. Nye, *Carbine and Lance: The Story of Old Fort Sill*, 7.

[21] T. A. ("Dot") Babb, *In the Bosom of the Comanches*, 106–107; Nelson Lee, *Three Years among the Comanches*, 127–28; George Catlin, *North American Indians*, II, 72; C. C. Rister, *Border Captives*, 16.

The Comanches

and read it back. They can talk our language, but they just don't want to!" The Comanche language became the lingua franca of the South Plains, and at Indian gatherings the proceedings usually took place through the medium of the Comanche tongue. This may explain why the Comanches were reported not to be so proficient in the use of the sign language as the other Plains tribes.

"Tribe" when applied to the Comanches is a word of sociological but not political significance. The Comanches had a strong consciousness of kind. A Comanche, whatever his band, was a Comanche. He could say, "I am of the *Nɜmɜnɔ: I am of The People*. By dress, by speech, by thoughts and actions the Comanches held a common bond of identity and affinity that set them off from all other Indians—from all the rest of the world. In this sense, the tribe had meaning. The tribe consisted of a people who had a common way of life. But that way of life did not include political institutions or social mechanisms by which they could act as a tribal unit. There was, in the old days, no ceremonial occasion or economic enterprise that pulled all the far-flung bands together for a spell, be it ever so brief. There was no chieftain or group of chieftains to act for the tribe as a whole. There was no tribal council.

The first time the bands with all their men, women, and children came together was in the dying moments of the old, free culture at the time of the first Comanche Sun Dance in 1874.

The Comanches were organized in family groups and bands. The bands were autonomous units, each loosely organized and each centering its activities in a vaguely defined territory within the Comanche country. But, on the other hand, there were no distinct boundaries between the several band territories, and any Comanche or family was free and welcome to settle, or hunt, or move through the regions of other bands, whatever his own affiliation might be. Although warriors of the Wasp band joined with the United States Army as scouts in the final campaigns against their kinsmen, Comanche bands never warred with each other, but rather co-operated on the friendliest terms whenever happenstance drew them together.

The Comanche band was strikingly similar in organization to the aboriginal Shoshonean groups of the Great Basin in the days preceding white contact. It ranged in size from a single family camping

alone to the small camp of related individuals forming a composite extended family to a large group of several hundred people. But the band was not organized around a family group, nor was it the basis for the regulation of marriage. Clan organization was wholly absent. In the large groups, more often than not marriage took place within the band so that a couple belonged customarily to the same band as both their parents. But in cases of interband marriage, residence tended to be virilocal, for a band did not want to lose its fighting strength to another, and in personal disputes a man had to count on the support of his brothers, wherefore brothers stuck together in their parental band. This being so, and a son-in-law being expected to furnish food to his wife's parents, they, in giving consent to marriage, preferred their daughters to take a husband from their own band. Yet the kinship principle was weak, even within the extended family band; for although groups of relatives tended to camp together, the linkage of the person to the band was on the basis of free association. Any person could withdraw from one band and join another at will.[9] There were no restrictions to prevent a change of residence from one band to another at any time, and no formal ceremony was required. With a great deal of interband visiting going on, temporary changes of band membership were frequent. A newcomer simply moved in, and no permission was necessary.

Likewise, groups of individuals under their own leaders sometimes separated from the main band, possibly to reunite later or to join some other band. Such divisions sometimes gave rise to new bands if these cessionists stayed off on their own. In several known instances, smaller or weaker bands merged with larger bands and lost their identity.

In the large band, relatives tended to camp together. Thus the camp pattern retained a degree of regularity. And when the band was subdivided, as was often the case, there is reason to believe that the break-up tended to be into the smaller groups of relatives joined by the families of friends drawn within the orbit of the group.

The family headmen—and there was at least one for each group—

[9] David G. Burnet, "American Aborigines, Indians of Texas," *The Cincinnati Literary Gazette*, Vol. I (May 15, 1824), 154; E. A. Hoebel, "Comanche and Hekandika Shoshone Relationship Systems," *American Anthropologist*, Vol. XLI (1939), 440–57, has a similar analysis of the Comanche band.

The Comanches

The family headmen - and there was at least one for each group -
622 were the peace, or civil, chiefs. When the large band was functioning
623 as a unit, it contained several peace chiefs, one of whom was recognized as the head chief of the band. The rest formed an advisory council to the leader and at the same time maintained their positions as family headmen.

184 Although the various bands had cultures so similar that it was
619 extremely difficult for the uninitiated to differentiate among them,
621 each band had certain peculiarities which served to identify its members in any company. Each had its favorite dance.[10] One band habitually made clothing from antelope skins, although the others preferred deer skins. One made no pemmican, another made it without berries, and a third always added berries.[11] The southern groups were thought to prefer darker clothing than their northern kinsmen.[12] There were also slight differences in speech. For instance, the Wasp band members (Southern Comanche) pronounced their words more slowly than the Antelope band of the Staked Plains.[13] Bands also differed in a number of cultural aspects less easily recognized, such as magical techniques, sexual attitudes, and character traits. Cultural differences persisted, although it was mandatory upon an individual to follow the customs of the group with which he lived in order to be socially accepted by his new associates, and this despite the frequent exchange of band allegiance and the interband marriages. The extent of cultural differences at present corresponds somewhat to that in the United States between North and South or East and West. All the older Comanche informants were as conscious of the differences as a Texan in Boston. "That was —— [name of band] way" was a very common reply of informants to questions or comments. Notwithstanding these and other slight differences that may have existed, there was, on the whole, little gross variation in habits, customs, and institutions.

194 Only the larger bands received permanent recognition and a name.
619 Before the close of the eighteenth century, the Spaniards in New

[10] R. H. Lowie, "Dances and Societies of the Plains Shoshone," American Museum of Natural History *Anthropological Papers*, XI, Part 10 (1916), 809–12.

[11] Ralph Linton, *The Study of Man*, 221.

[12] W. B. Parker, *Notes Taken During the Expedition Commanded by Captain R. B. Marcy Through Unexplored Texas, in the Summer and Fall of 1854*, 202.

[13] Richardson, *The Comanche Barrier to South Plains Settlement*, 17–18.

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Drying meat
Courtesy Oklahoma Historical Society Museum

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621

A Comanche camp, about 1870
Courtesy Bureau of American Ethnology

[Facing p. 78]

o: Linton E-5 (1933)1935 NO6 Comanche NO6

THE COMANCHE SUN DANCE

By RALPH LINTON

796 THE last Comanche Sun Dance was held in 1878, the date being fixed with certainty by an eclipse of the sun visible in Oklahoma in the same year. Even before this time the ceremony seems to have been falling into disuse, due perhaps to the harassed life which the tribe had led during the preceding twenty years. One informant had attended this last dance as a small child, but his memories of it were vague and the account given here must be understood to be based on second hand evidence.[1]

796 619 621 Whether the Sun Dance was ever a regular annual ceremony among the Comanche is uncertain. From at least 1860 on it was held at irregular intervals, whenever some individual received the necessary supernatural sanction. It also seems highly improbable that the whole tribe ever attended a single Sun Dance. The autonomy of the various bands within the tribe was complete and there was little feeling of solidarity among them. Participation seems normally to have been limited to the band of the supervising medicine man with a few others who were in close and friendly contact with it and who came by invitation. Informants frequently described the dance [80] as though only four bands were involved, but this was probably nothing more than a projection of the pattern of using four as a ritualistic number.

796 787 Every dance originated in a supernatural sanction received by some medicine man. This was probably in the form of a dream or vision, although informants were not certain. The originator was usually a young man who was just beginning his career. Those who volunteered to dance were also, as a rule, young men who had few war exploits to their credit. It was said that their subsequent careers would be watched to determine whether the sanction received by the medicine man was authentic and that his reputation would be strongly influenced by their success or failure. The medicine man had complete charge of the ceremony, arranging all the details in accordance with his sanction. From the differences in the accounts given by various informants it seems certain that there was a good deal of variation in the procedure, extending even to differences in the form of the lodge used on different occasions.

796 The ceremony was held approximately in midsummer and continued for eight days, the first four being devoted to the gathering of materials

[1] The present notice seems to be the first report of the Sun Dance among the Comanche. There are, in fact, specific statements of its nonoccurrence in W. P. Clark, Indian Sign Language (Philadelphia, 1885) and James Mooney, Calendar History of the Kiowa Indians (Seventeenth Annual Report, Bureau of American Ethnology, Part 1, 1900), p. 322.

[pp 1-419 not processed]

11: Casagrande E,L-5 (1940) 1954
NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

and child was allotted 160 acres with sections set aside for schools and public institutions. The allotments were to be held in trust for 25 years after which time title was to go to the Indians unless the President extended the trust period. For relinquishing their rights the Indians were to receive two million dollars payable at some unspecified date in per capita payments of $500 each with 5 per cent interest paid annually. The lands were to be free from taxation and could not become subject to indebtedness during the trust period. Thus the Comanche became citizens under the allotment system and rations were withdrawn in 1901. Since these allotments were widely scattered and interspersed with White farms, the development of a tribal community was largely precluded and the process of acculturation thereby hastened.

In summary, the history of Comanche contacts with Western culture shows an early period of vacillating hostile and friendly relations, largely tangential in nature, with the Spanish, French, and Americans which lasted until about the middle of the nineteenth century. That date marked the end of Comanche tribal autonomy and ushered in a period of rapid cultural change. Another fifty years may see the old Comanche culture pass into the legendary as it already has for most of the younger persons today.

3.0. The Comanche language is a member of the far-flung Uto-Aztecan stock first set forth by Buschmann[24] and further delineated by Kroeber,[24] Sapir,[25] and Whorf.[26] Sapir

[24] Johann C. Buschmann, Spuren der Aztekischen Sprache im Norden, Abhandlungen der koniglichen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin aus dem Jahre 1854 (Berlin, Germany, 1859).

[25] A. L. Kroeber, Shoshonean Dialects of California, UCPAAE, 4.66-165 (Berkeley, Calif., 1907), and Uto-Aztecan Languages of Mexico, Ibero-Americana, No. 8 (Berkeley, Calif., 1934).

[26] Edward Sapir, Southern Paiute and Nahuatl, a Study in Uto-Aztecan, Part I, JSAP, n.s., 10. 379-425; Part II, AA 17.98-120, 306-28 (1915), and continued in JSAP 11.443-88 (1914), (begun in 1913).

[p. 145-A]

19: Lowie E-5 (1912) 1915 NO6 Comanche NO6

COMANCHE DANCES.

The dances of the Comanche seem to have been, at least to some extent, associated with their bands. These were purely local divisions that had nothing to do with the regulation of marriage. Of the fairly large number listed by Mr. Mooney,[1] my informants recollected only the following four bands:—

Yápairē'ka, Yampa-eaters, north of the other Comanche;

Kwā'are, Antelopes, in part of Oklahoma and Colorado, and the panhandle section of Texas;

Nókōni, or Nóyeka, Travelers, in the mountainous regions of Oklahoma;

Pē'natē'ka, Honey, or Wasp-eaters, living toward the Rio Grande.

Of these bands, the Yápairē'ka is correlated with the Crow dance (tōwi nō'ō'kà); the Kwā'are, with the Colt (tírewō'ku-nō'ō'ka) and the Horse dance; the Nókōni and the Pénatē'ka, with the swift-fox (wō'tsi[2] nō[5]'ka) dance. The Buffalo dance (ā'anō'kā'r) was the common property of all the bands, but each band performed it by itself.

The only earlier account of Comanche dances known to me is by Clark. After listing the Swift Fox, Gourd, Raven, Buffalo Bull, and Afraid-of-Nothing societies, he states:—

> "The Comanche have five bands, and claimed that the difference is in the dances prior to getting up a war-party." In another place he writes: "The Comanches have the Raven, Buffalo Bull, Swift Fox,— all war-dances,— and Dance of Fear, with shields and lances, when they expect an attack; Turkey-Dance, imitating motions of turkeys. The Deer-Dance might be called the juggler's-dance, as the dancers pretend to swallow red beans and then draw them out through the breast." [3]

On the whole, I certainly received the impression that dances were, at least preferentially, associated with definite bands. One informant, however, denied any such correlation. According to him, the Comanche, in war times, were organised in different companies, which he compared with subdivisions of a regiment of soldiers. He enumerated the Crow, Fox, Drum, Big Horse, and Little Horse companies. If nothing unusual happened, a man would remain true to the division he had first chosen, but there was no special bond of friendship between members of the same company.

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[1] *Handbook of North American Indians*, article "Comanche."
[2] Another informant said this was a swift bird.
[3] Clark, 355, 141.

19: Lowie E-5 (1912) 1915 NO6 Comanche NO6

If I correctly interpret the somewhat confused accounts of several informants, the dances mentioned were performed mainly, or perhaps even exclusively, in connection with a festival, of possibly several weeks' duration, called nā'wapinā'r. This term was interpreted to indicate a challenge to the enemy and a calling of volunteers. At all events, the ceremony originated through the invitation of a man who had lost a son through some hostile tribe or had suffered some other injury at the hands of the enemy that called for revenge. Such a man would select a site for a general assemblage, summon his tribesmen to take part in a nā'wapinā'r, and pass a pipe from one guest to another by way of bespeaking their aid. In general he assumed the part of master of ceremonies.

There was a procession in which the war chiefs, rarely numbering more than six, took part. Some were on horseback. The most renowned warrior came last in the line. Musicians who drummed and sang accompanied the marchers. The renowned captain called a halt, and three times pretended to fix his lance into the ground before actually doing so. When he finally stuck it in, the musicians at once beat their drums. Then the drummers made remarks, and the captain told of the injury experienced by the tribe. The march was then resumed, and after a while the man ranking next to the famous warrior repeated the performance described.

During the entire period of the nā'wapinā'r it seems that the several dances alternated.

The Buffalo (or horn) dance, which could be performed by any of the bands, was declared by one informant to have been the greatest of all the dances. During its performance anyone having a horned bonnet would wear it. The dancers were lined up in a row and would advance a considerable distance in the dance step. Ahead of them was a line of mounted men, while behind them came a row of musicians, and behind these the group of spectators, including women, ranged in the arc of a circle.

The Crow dance was generally regarded by my informants as the exclusive property of the Yápaire'ka band. The performers marched through the entire camp, two abreast, with an officer on either side, armed with a heavy war club with a wrist loop of swift-fox skin, decorated with tassels. The officers deputized certain men to act as guards during the procession. The best dancers took the lead. After having proceeded some distance, they halted to form the arc of a circle. Then the dance began. At first possibly only one couple would advance, then others followed. The dancers imitated the motions of a crow. The managers would stop the dance after a while and tell about the war that was to follow the nā'wapinā'r or make some other announcement of general interest, at the same time going through some motions while the drummers were beating

21: Burnet T-5 (1818-1819) 1954 NO6 Comanche)6
Texas

[ca. 1818]

175 628 tion of country which custom seems to have appropriated to its more special use and occupancy.

621 622 175 These three great national parties, are subdivided into captaincies or villages, to each of which is appointed a chief, whose distinction seems to consist rather in name than authority. His name however, gives title to the flying village, and is useful in this respect, as some sign of discrimination

621 175 is necessary, and they can derive none from locality. These subdivisions are various and contingent, each member being at liberty to withdraw from one village and unite with another, as caprice or convenience may dictate.

175 221 [231] As the Comanchees do not cultivate the ground, but derive their subsistence from the spontaneous productions of nature, and chiefly from the animal kingdom, they are necessarily migratory, and obliged to change their encampment every ten or fifteen days. The scarcity of game, which is soon taught to avoid their dangerous neighborhood, and the speedy exhaustion of convenient pasturage, which is indispensable to the subsistence of their large herds of mules and horses, are the principal reasons for such frequent removals. When about to abandon a position, they generally

175 202 fire the grass, to give intelligence of their decampment to absentees;—smoke is likewise employed as a telegraph to announce the return of a war party. It is not uncommon to see, at the same time, 8 or 10 of these signals darkening the horizon, and rearing their columns in gloomy grandeur, to the vertex of a serene and brilliant atmosphere.

175 643 The three parties collectively acknowledge one head or grand Chief, who is selected from either party. His appointment is indefinite as to duration and extent of authority, the latter depending more on the force of his personal char-

175 [642] [671] [692] acter, than on the investments of office. Indeed a positive official authority, is not recognized in their crude system of government. They have but few traditionary laws, and these, they are not always capable of enforcing. Compulsion is seldom exercised on a refractory culprit; and when imperious circumstances require it to be done, it is effected by a convention of chiefs, whose personal influences become auxiliary to an otherwise impotent authority.

23: Cabello y Robles G-3 (1778-1786) 1961
NO6 Comanche NO6
Eastern Comanche

[ca. 1786]

much blindness and harshness, as if they were slaves. 000

SECOND: What Reciprocal Trade Has One Village With Another? 175 438

The commerce and trade that one village has with others is that the Eastern Comanche transport the horses which they acquire in their wars and robberies to the villages of the Western Comanche, that are known by the name *Yumbarioas* [*Yamparikas*], who are the ones that sell or barter rifles, powder, shot, lances, cloth, pottery, and knives which they acquire from the *Canse, Quita, Quirate and Aguaés*; these are also intermediaries in the commerce of buffalo hides, with and without hair, which they work and dress very well. 439

THIRD: What Strength Has Each One? 175

With respect to the strength of each settlement it is not possible to ascertain the number of people that compose them, nor of those of the other villages because they are accustomed to subdivide according to the way they accommodate themselves to the terrain in which they exist and the bounty of the hunt of the buffalo, on which they maintain themselves. Because of the shortage of firearms, they keep their strength gathered with the caution with which they always live; they never situate themselves in a place that will be very uncomfortable, but in which they will be able to be sheltered from their enemies, always having little [scouting] parties circling to observe whether or not they are being attacked. They have the system of wandering from one place to another without maintaining themselves in a fixed locale, and in such manner they plant no crops. They maintain themselves only from the flesh of buffalo and deer, and some roots like sweet potatoes that are abundant in the territory in which they travel. 621 224 175 721 621 175 221 [241] [262]

FOURTH: What Territory Do They Ordinarily Occupy? 175

The Rancherias of the Eastern [Comanche] Indians are 131 [133]

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sant war was to be made on the Apache.[3] The Comanche conducted their campaign between May 13 and July 5, possibly the first under the above treaty. The scene of the engagement appears from various details to have been in the Sandia Mountain region south of Santa Fé. The name of the Apache band attacked is unknown.

In the *Noticia*, translated below, are found the names of most of the Comanche chiefs who took part in the peace celebration and in the campaign, the meanings of each of their names in Spanish, a statement of the number of tents under the command of each and of the then three divisions of the Comanche about New Mexico, namely, Yupe, Yamparica, and Cuchanec, or Cuchantica.[4] Elsewhere in his reports[5] Governor Anza indicates that the Yupe occupied the region north of the Rio Napestle (the Arkansas river) as far as the southern part of present Wyoming; that the Yamparica extended across the northern part of Colorado[6] of today, and southward among the Yupe to the Rio Napestle; and that between the Napestle and the present Red river ranged the Cuchanec, whom Anza briefly described from information just furnished him by Francisco Xavier Ortiz, an emissary to these Comanche. Between the Pecos and the Red rivers, Ortiz found eight Cuchanec rancherias located in a quadrangle roughly forty leagues square, that is, about one hundred miles square. Therein he estimated that the smallest rancheria had thirty tents,

[3] Relacion de los Sucesos ocurridos en la Provincia del Nuevo-Mexico con motivo de la Paz concedida a la Nacion Comanche y su reconciliacion de la Yuta, desde 17 de Noviembre de 1785" hasta 15" de Julio de 86" (Provincias Internas, Tomo 65, Archivo General y Publico, Mexico City). This Relacion, divided into fifty numbered paragraphs, is a summary of the reports of Governor Anza of New Mexico over the above months. Hereafter citation will be simply Relacion with paragraph number. The writer is indebted to the American Council of Learned Societies for assistance in securing copies of this Relacion and related material in the archives of Mexico City.

[4] This Noticia is an enclosure accompanying the above Relacion in Tomo 65 of the Provincias Internas. With this Noticia there is also another copy of the Tally Sheet reproduced here. (See footnote 1.).

[5] Relacion, paragraphs 2 and 3.

[6] The Yamparica were also noted in this area eight years previously by Dominguez and Escalante, two padres who made an expedition in 1779 northwest of New Mexico (Diario y derrotero de los RR PP Fr. Francisco Atanasio Dominguez y F. Silvestre Velez de Escalante in Documentos para la Historia de Mexico, segunda serie, tomo I, 392–420).

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all eight about seven hundred, and that there were three to four warriors in each tent, i.e., between six and seven thousand souls. He noted, too, that these Comanche owned about nine hundred beasts of burden, including five herds of mares. More specifically he mentioned that Chief Canaquaipe ruled over one hundred and fifty-five tents, and Chief Malla (Equeracapa), one hundred and fifty-seven. Eastward beyond these Cuchanec Ortiz reported others who ranged as far as the Jumano and Taguayace,[7] then settled on lands in southern present Oklahoma and northern Texas, near the town of Ringgold, Texas, of today.[8] The accuracy of this information was shortly established by Spanish explorers who between 1787–1789 visited the Taguayace and Comanche along the Red river in that area.[9]

From an anthropological point of view, the photostatic record of the Comanche report adds further interesting details to the small fund of Comanche information.[10] It will be noted that this Tally Sheet reveals the Comanche organized into five groups with the leaders of each, accompanied by a lance, standing in a very definite position with regard to each group. The *Noticia* also has the Comanche chiefs' names arranged in five groups. Possibly this organization is characteristic of the later eighteenth century Comanche arrangement in a war party. Lowie refers to a similar organization of Comanche bands.

[7] Ynforme de Franco Xavier Ortiz. This Informe also accompanies the above Relacion in Tomo 65 of the Provincias Internas. Ortiz was among the Comanche from April to May, 1786, to see how they were observing the peace treaty of the past February. Ortiz was accompanied by Josef Manuel Roxo who claimed and was supported by testimonials from twenty-one prominent citizens of New Mexico, that he had voluntarily made a journey east of Pecos in the preceding January (1786) and had persuaded some Comanche to visit Anza for the purpose of making the peace finally entered into. See these testimonials in El Consejo al Comandante Interino de provincias Internas, Madrid, abril 8 de 1787 (104–6–23 Archivo General de Indias, Seville).

[8] For an account of the Comanche and Taovaya in this area between 1759 and 1789 see H. E. Bolton, Athanase de Mezieres and the Louisiana-Texas Frontier 1768–1780, 1: 79–122; Texas in the Middle Eighteenth Century, 89–90, 121–133; The Jumano Indians in Texas 1650–1771 (Quarterly of the Texas State Hist. Assoc., vol. 15, No. 1).

[9] H. E. Bolton, Texas in the Middle Eighteenth Century, 129–133. The present writer is preparing the diaries of these expeditions for publication.

[10] The writer is indebted to Dr. Leslie Spier for the information and suggestions concerning the anthropological aspects of this document.

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175
551
701
621
[643]

Names of the chiefs with their meaning in Spanish.[27]			Number of Tents.
First with Equeracapa of the division of Cuchanec,[28] or Cuchantica: Buffalo-eaters.			
Equeracapa:	El huerfano, the orphan, and because most notable in war contatanacapara:[29] Grulla en Cruz, Crane on the Cross, known in New Mexico and Texas by the name Cota de Malla, Coat of Mail, the most trusted and universally esteemed chief of the nation, which named him their attorney general for the adjustment of peace in the council of chiefs held for this purpose with the greatest solemnity in their own country, and newly instituted as chief of all of it		100
Tosacondata:	Grulla Blanca	White Crane	10
Tosapoy:	Camino Blanco	White Road	80
Hichapat:	Ardiloso	The Crafty One	10
Paraginanchi:	Orejas de Venado Alasan	Ears of a Sorrel Deer	30
Cuetaninabeni:	El Maltratado	The Maltreated One	20
Quinaneantime:	El Roe a su Amo	He gnaws his Master	11
Sonacat:	Muchos Pimientos	Many Peppers	20
Canaguaipe:	Amugerado flaco	The Feeble Effeminate One	40
Pisimanpat:	Zapato podrido	The Decayed Shoe	10
Toyamancare:	Sentado en la Sierra	Seated on the Mountain Range	15
Tichinalla:	Juega Feo	Ugly Game	20
Second			
	El Chamá de la parcialidad Yupe:	Exchange [30]of the group Yupe	50
Queremilla:	El que hace prodigios, Sacerdote, o Ministro entre ellos:	He who makes miracles, Priest, or Minister among them	6
Third led by Tosacondata			
Huanecoruco:	Zorra de Paño, Cuchanec:	Fox of Cloth, Buffalo Eater	10

(114)

[27] The writer is indebted to Professor Stephan Scatori, Professor of Romance Languages, in the University of Oklahoma, for assistance in the interpretation of the Spanish equivalents of the Comanche names in this Noticia.

[28] Buffalo Eaters is the meaning given to the word Cuchanec or Cuchantica by the Spaniards (Relacion, paragraph 2).

[29] In another place Anza says that this word means: *El sin igual en hazanas militares*: the one without equal in military achievements (Relacion, paragraph 5). The chief's name, Equeracapa, in Spanish means Leather Cape. That hide armor is indicated by this name is apparent here from Cota de Malla, Coat of Mail, the title given him by the Spaniards of New Mexico and Texas.

[30] El Chama may also be translated The Boy. The text here states that this man was entrusted with a letter for the Governor of Texas.

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Tosaporua:	Oso blanco, de la Rama Yamparica:[29]	White Bear, of the Yamparica branch	8
Pasahuoques:	Ladra Ronco, Idm:	Hoarse Bark, Idm.	20
	Fourth led by Tosapoy		
Ysaquebera:	Lobo Largo, Yupe:	Long Wolf, Yupe[30]	80
Tuchubarua:	Hozo Paxarito, Idm:	Bear Bird, Idm.	9
Encantime:	Savandija, Idm:	Beetle, Idm.	11
	Fifth led by Paraginachi		
Pagabipo:	Vasija de Panza, Yamparica:	Basin Pauch, Yamparica	15
Cunabunit:	El que vió Fuego, Ydm:	He who saw Fire, Idm.	10
Quahuahacante:	Cuero matado:	Dead Hide	8
		Total	593

NOTE

The number of individuals whom they have at their command exceeds at least by a third part that computed by this statement.[31]

. . . . . .[32]

It is a certified copy. Janos 13 of March 1788 in accordance with the order of the Senor Commandante General.

Juan Gasiot y Miralles (Rubric)

FOURTH ENCLOSURE[33]

Names of twenty-two other Comanche despatched by Equeracapa to Governor Don Juan Bautista de Anza in place of eight whom he asked for

[29] Yamparica, Anza stated, comes from the word Yampa, a species of sweet root which abounds in the country of these Indians (Relacion, paragraph 2).

[30] The word Yupe is also written by the Spaniards, Yupinis and Gente de Palo. The latter may be translated as Stick People or Timber People. In this connection it is interesting to note that the Council, mentioned in this Noticia, which selected Equeracapa as chief of all the Comanche, met on the Arkansas river in a spot called La Casa de Palo or the House of Timber or Stick (Relacion, paragraph 2).

[31] It will be observed that this note is apparently a restatement of the last phrase of the opening paragraph of this Noticia that each tent has about three men of arms. The total number of warriors would accordingly be between seventeen hundred and eighteen hundred.

[32] A list of five chiefs' names, all appearing on the Tally Sheet is omitted here since the Spanish equivalents are not given. Of these five names, three, Salambipu, Encajivel and Piaquegipe, do not appear in the lists of the Noticia or the Fourth Enclosure so that their meanings are unknown.

[33] This list of twenty-two names is a fourth enclosure accompanying the Relacion. The other three enclosures as already noted are a copy of the Tally Sheet, the Noticia, and the Ynforme of Ortiz. (See footnotes 4, 7, and 21 above.)

/page 36 continued/

If the present factions are not determined by the acculturationist vs. traditionalist split, the split still exists in the realm of value judgement. Exactly what role it does play must be examined still further. The differences between the Kiowas and Comanches seem to be continuances of earlier pre-contact differences. But to pursue this is to get onto very precarious ground.

Conversations on the subject of the factioning with informants both Peyotist and Christian yield two conflicting views. One is that there has always been factionalism and that the tribes will never learn to cooperate unless things unforseen come to pass. The other is that the older generation, now inactive, was not plagued by the dissension which exists among the leaders today. Arguments may be advanced to support both theories.

As far back as the history of the tribes can be traced there are stories of splits and dissensions. The Comanches recall that they were once Shoshones. The stories of the split vary but generally it is believed that there was some disagreement. The Kiowas also have a tradition of a northern origin and a split although it is more difficult to reconcile with what the books say. According to the older Kiowas, the Crows and Kiowas were once the same people. They maintain that they can understand the Crow language fairly well and there is considerable visiting between the two groups today. In pre-reservation days dissensions and splits did not paralyze the activities of the tribe. People could split off from one band and join another. The success of tribal life did not depend upon cohesion and cooperation. But with the advent of the reservation and settlement in one place with sustained relations with the United States government this tendency to split became more and more painful. One could not move for one thing. And the dealings with the outside world demanded a concerted effort on the part of the tribes to achieve success.

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 N06 Comanche N06
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Their greatest source of irritation during this span of time was the growing white settlements of Texas. It was during this period of increased contact with Texas that the divisions of the Comanche bands into northern, middle, western, and southern began to acquire a new meaning—one couched in terms of degree of acculturation and the hostilities engendered between the tradition-oriented and conservative Comanche bands and the well-acculturated Comanche bands.

As early as 1779 Governor Don Juan Bautista de Anza of New Spain had recognized the highly independent band organization of Comanche society. The term "tribe" had no political significance for the Comanches. Comanche society consisted of a number of independent and sometimes hostile bands which were linked by only the awareness that they were all *nʉmʉnʉ*, or "The People." Each band exploited a vaguely defined range within the Comanche country and, with the notable exception of the "Quick Stinger" band, never made war on other bands. There were no pervasive political institutions among the Comanche to mold the bands into a political unit. No tribal council, no joint economic activity, and no ceremonial occasion existed that could unite all the bands for even a brief period of time. The various bands even dealt separately with the United States government. The first and last time that a majority of the bands came together was for the occasion of the first Comanche Sun Dance in 1874, held in the dying moments of the old, free nomadic Comanche culture. This first attempt to organize as a tribe, unfortunately for the Comanches, was attempted too late, for by this time the end of the nomadic Comanche life way was but a year in the future.

The Spanish government of New Spain considered the Comanches as being organized into three major bands. The Anglo-Americans also designated three divisions—northern, middle, and southern. Wallace and Hoebel (1925:25) record that Robert S. Neighbors, in 1860, cited the existence of eight Comanche bands; James Mooney later listed thirteen; Robert Lowie in 1912 mentioned only four. The Santa Fe Laboratory group in 1933 was able to gain information concerning thirteen bands. I was able to find evidence of five Comanche bands—*yapai* ("Root Eaters"), *kwahada* ("Antelopes"), *kɔnitaiβ* ("Corn White Men"); or *penatɔkɔ* ("Eating Honey All the Time"), *bonono* ("Hill People"), and *noyaka* or *nokoni* ("Always Moving Around").

Comanche Bands

There is no information on the origins of the various bands or their pre-contact composition and geographical placement. In the following discussion of the major Comanche bands the reconstructed situation is that of the Comanche in their historic territory from approximately the late eighteenth century until the disintegration of the old nomadic Comanche culture in the latter part of the nineteenth century.

The largest Comanche band was the *penatɔkɔ*, or "Honey Eaters," the southernmost Comanche band. At various times they were known as the "Hospitables," "No Meat," "Steep Climbers," "Wasps" or "Quick Stingers," and "Timber People." This band was the vanguard of the Comanches' southward migration.

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 NO6 Comanche NO6
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The final territory they held was northcentral Texas. Early references by Anglo-Americans concerning the Comanches pertain mainly to these people. Wallace and Hoebel (1952:25) mention that they lived near the white settlements and associated more with the Caddos, Wichitas, and whites in historic times than with their western and northern kinsmen. Both their tradition and that of the northern Comanche bands tell how the two lost contact for a long period of time. It was only with the northern Comanches' raids into Mexico that the two groups finally reestablished ties.

The *penatɜka* were put on reservations in Texas in 1854, while the majority of Comanches continued to raid freely throughout Texas. The reservation experiment failed, largely because of pressure from the white citizenry, and was ended in 1858. By this time the power of the Honey Eaters was minimal and, because of their proximity to the Texas settlements, they were made to suffer for many of the crimes perpetrated by the "wild" western and northern Comanches.

The *nɔkoni*, "Those Who Move Often," was the major band representing the middle Comanches. The center of their range was the Pease River region of Texas. The *tanima*, "Liver Eaters," and *kutsuka*, "Buffalo Eaters," composed the remaining middle Comanche bands, sharing the range of the *nɔkoni*.

The *kwahada*, "Antelope" band, is the representative of the western Comanches. They probably drifted south at approximately the same time as the *yapai* band and later moved onto the staked Plains. In late historic times the *kwahada* band was the most warlike of the Comanches and the last band to surrender to the United States Army.

The *yapai*, or *Yamparika*, "Yap Eaters," occupied the northernmost reaches of the Comanche country. The *yapai* was probably the last band to break from the Shoshonean traditions. Wallace and Hoebel (1952:27) write that the Fort Hall Shoshone of Idaho call all Comanches *Yamparika*. During the late nineteenth century they were situated from the south side of the Arkansas River to the Canadian River.

Acculturation and Schism

The reservation and postreservation period wrought great changes in the function and composition of the Comanche bands. Matters of protection, subsistence, and territory were taken from the control of the Comanches and brought under the power of various agencies of, or appointed by, the federal government. It was only with the land allotments of the Jerome Act in 1901 and 1905 that the members of the various bands were able to assert their band identity once again in real estate. Today, in Comanche, Cotton, and Caddo counties, the ancient geographic distribution of the four major bands is stated in miniature. The *yapai* are still the northernmost band, centered in the area delimited by the Oklahoma communities of Medicine Park, Meers, Elgin, Fletcher, Cyril, Apache, and Bonne. The *nɔkoni* are located south of the *yapai* and north of Lawton, Oklahoma. The greatest density of *kwahada* population is in western Comanche County in the

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 NO6 Comanche NO6
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towns of Cache, Snyder, and Indiahoma. The *penatɜkə* continue to be the southernmost of the Comanche bands, centered in the vicinity of Walters, Oklahoma.

Perhaps the most ubiquitous and pervasive problems which have confronted the Comanche in the twentieth century are those directly associated with the process of acculturation with the dominant white culture. The traditional–progressive and conservative–liberal schism which has appeared as a disruptive force in contemporary Comanche society very closely follows band boundaries. As might be expected, the southern band, the *penatɜkə*, a people with a relatively long history of white contact experience, have been more successful in their transition into the twentieth century than have the *yapai* Comanches, the band with the least amount of contact experience. At present the *penatɜkə* are the progressive and liberal Comanches, while the *yapai* stand as the rallying point for all traditionally oriented and conservative Comanches. The *yapai* are joined in the traditionalist camp by the *kwahada* and the *nɔkoni*. This major division is thought of by the Comanches as a division between the northern "tribes" and the southern "tribes."

Most contemporary northern Comanches do not use the term *penatɜkə* for the southern people; rather they call them *hɔnitaiβo*, which means "eat corn like a white man," or, more literally, "corn white men." They are often referred to in English as "Freckles," alluding to the great degree of mixed-blood Comanches who, the northerners believe, fill the southerner's ranks. The southern Comanches are less colorful than the northerners in their invectives, simply stating that the northerners are, for the most part, uneducated, drunken, shiftless, and generally responsible for the poor reputation which the Comanches possess in many of the white communities in southern Oklahoma.

Historical indications of the basis for the present-day dichotomy of Comanche society are suggested by Richardson in *The Comanche Barrier to South Plains Settlement* (1933). Perhaps the most significant single factor responsible for the subsequent divisiveness of the northern and southern Comanche bands is the geographic distance which separated them well into historic times. At the peak of Comanche territorial expansion, as many as 600 miles could have separated the northern bands, ranging in southern Colorado and southwestern Kansas, from southern bands, inhabiting northcentral Texas.

The Kiowa and northern Comanches made a treaty in 1790 which did not include the southern Comanche bands. This treaty was never broken. During the Texas Revolution the southern bands refrained from taking advantage of the chaos in Texas to raid and plunder, while the northern Comanches and their Kiowa allies joined to make one of the most destructive Indian raids in Texas history. After the Mexican defeat in 1837 the Cherokee chief, Bowl, was commissioned to visit the various Comanche bands to seek peace. The southerners were cooperative and friendly; the northerners, however, were insulting and hostile. In the 1850s when the southern bands were put on reservations in Texas, the northern bands continued their raiding activities with the Kiowas. During this time agent officials complained of the demoralizing effects which the northern Comanches had on the southern reservation wards. Further, members of the

31: Jones . E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 NO6 Comanche NO6
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southern (Wasps or Quick Stingers) band joined the United States Army in its war against the "wild" northern Comanche bands. This bit of "Freckle" treachery is still perpetuated in the war stories told by the northerners.

The most obvious contemporary example of the ancient roots of this Comanche factionalism concerns the Kiowa-Comanche-Apache constitution established as a result of the Medicine Lodge Treaty of 1867. The southerners favor a separate Comanche constitution, while the northerners view this as an attempt to break the long-standing alliance between the northern Comanches and the Kiowas. Sanapia's statement on this subject is typical of the northerner's sentiment.

> Here, up to today, those Walter's people are trying to break us up. How could they do that? I got grandchildren that's Kiowa, and the Comanches are all mixed in with them Kiowas. We all together . . . got to stay that way. Those southern people aren't like us. All their old people are Mexicans. Well, they Comanches, same as us, but they act like white people. We've been with these Kiowas and Apaches for a long time, and we can't break it up.

Of course, this traditional–progressive and conservative–liberal differentiation suggests but the grossest divisions in Comanche society. There is also the Christian–peyotist factionalism, for example; however, like the other minor factional elements, it is subsumed under the greater northern–southern Comanche divisions. The northern people consider themselves peyotist and look with scorn on the southerner's predilection for Christianity—the white man's religion. The southerners consider the northerners' religious bias primitive and heathenish and but a further example of the inferiority of the northerners in general. In my field research I found the southern Comanches, relative to the northern Comanches, to be generally lacking in knowledge of, or sympathy toward, those aspects of Comanche culture considered by the northerners and Comanche literature to be traditional in nature, that is, relating to the time of the nomadic culture of the Comanches and the values and world view which it posited.

The preceding account of northern versus southern Comanche orientation is intended as a generalizing descriptive attempt. There are, of course, progressive northern Comanches and conservative southern Comanches. However, the relatively rigidly defined spatial distribution of the opposing "tribes" will usually call for the progressively oriented northerner to move south and the conservative southerner to move north. I observed several instances in which an individual, in order to visibly state his factional allegiance, moved his abode into the geographic area most closely identified with the faction which he supported.

Sanapia is a *yapai* Comanche and an archconservative and traditionalist. The majority of my informants were also northern Comanches, though not all were *yapai*. These were the only people who possessed some "accurate" knowledge concerning native doctors and doctoring practices and who actually interacted in this institutionalized framework. The southerners, recognizing Sanapia's role among the northerners, emphasized the superiority of white doctors over the "superstitious" doctoring practices valued by the majority of northerners.

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
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the Indian customers. Later he ran another check on the accuracy of our bookkeeping. He passed this information on to the Indians. I can well remember my embarrassment when one day, after he had finished his investigations, the Reverend Mr. Deyo shook my hand and thanked me for "dealing honestly with my people." It seemed just a little hard for him to understand that a white merchant would voluntarily deal honestly with the Indians. But I am sure Dad, Mother, and I would have been just as puzzled had anyone suggested we deal any other way. At least, I never heard the subject discussed.

I am positive that at the time I had never heard the word "romantic," but it represents the way I thought about the Comanches in our trade territory. They belonged to the group known as Quohadie Tejas, or Antelope Eaters. Their range had been the high plains, centered in what is now the Texas Panhandle, and their leader was Quanah Parker. They had fought at Adobe Walls and in June, 1876, had been the last of the Comanches to surrender to the Army. By simple arithmetic, I knew that every male from the late forties upward had been a warrior. For my own convenience in thinking of them, I separated them into a group I called "the old fellows."

There was another group I didn't have to separate out, those ranging in age from their late teens to the late thirties or early forties. They separated themselves out. Not only did they hold themselves aloof from the whites, but there was a separateness between them and the older Indians—apparently including their own parents.

I learned that these particular Indians had been East to a school financed by the government at Carlisle, Pennsylvania. I learned that most of them had the equivalent of a high school education, and some had done college work. Now that they were home with the tribe, they made not the slightest move to use what they had learned, either to better their own condition or to be of assistance to the tribe.

They talked only Comanche among themselves, and wouldn't speak English when conversing with whites if they could make themselves understood by grunts, sign language, or pointing. I called these Indians the Carlisle group.

These young men and older boys, as well as the girls of the same age group, were better-looking Indians than the older, warrior-aged group and their squaws. It was most noticeable in their legs, which were straighter and better developed and appeared longer—the bandy look of the oldsters' legs had disappeared. These young Indians had

221
224 **The Comanche** were nomad buffalo
hunters, constantly on the move, cultivating little from the ground, and living
181 in skin tipis. They were long noted as the
finest horsemen of the plains and bore a
(186) reputation for dash and courage. They
have a high sense of honor and hold
themselves superior to the other tribes
142 with which they are associated. In person they are well built and rather corpulent. Their language is the trade lan-
197 guage of the region and is more or less
understood by all the neighboring tribes.
[194] It is sonorous and flowing, its chief characteristic being a rolling *r*. The language has several dialects.

614 The gentile system seems to be unknown among the Comanche. They have, or still
101 remember, 12 recognized divisions or bands
• 621 and may have had others in former times.
Of these all but 5 are practically extinct.
The Kwahari and Penateka are the most
[115] important. Following, in alphabetic order, is the complete list as given by their leading chiefs: Detsanayuka or Nokoni; Ditsakana, Widyu, Yapa, or Yamparika; Kewatsana; Kotsai; Kotsoteka; Kwahari or Kwahadi; Motsai; Pagatsu; Penateka or Penande; Pohoi (adopted Shoshoni); Tanima; Tenawa or Tenahwit; Waaih.
101 In addition to these the following have also been mentioned by writers as divisions of the Comanche: Guagejohe, Muvinabore, Nauniem, Parkeenaum. See *Dotame*.

(J. M.)

Allebome.—Lewis and Clark, Discov., 39, 1806 (so called by the French; see *Ne'-mo-sin*, below). **Bald Heads.**—Long, Exped. Rocky Mts., I, 155, 1823. **Bo'dálk'ïnago.**—Mooney in 14th Rep. B. A. E., 1043, 1896 (Kiowa name: 'reptile people', 'snake men'). **Cadoues.**—Domenech, Deserts N. Am., II, 100, 1860 (misprint of Padouca). **Camanche.**—Pike, Trav., xiv, 214, note, 1811. **Camanchees.**—Pilcher in Sen. Doc. 198, 25th Cong., 2d sess., 23, 1838. **Camarsches.**—Morse, Rep. to Sec. War, 367, 1822. **Ca'-tha.**—Hayden, Ethnog. and Philol. Mo. Val., 326, 1862 ('having many horses': Arapaho name). **Caumuches.**—La Harpe (1719) in Margry, Déc., VI, 289, 1886. **Causouches.**—Beaurain, ibid. **Caw-mainah.**—Gebow, Shoshonay Vocab., 8, 1863 (Shoshoni name). **Comaloa.**—Escalante (1776) misquoted by Harry in Simpson, Explor. across Utah, 495, 1876. **Cintu-aluka.**—Corliss, Dacotah MS. vocab., B. A. E., 106, 1874 (Teton name). **Comances.**—Schoolcraft, Pers. Mem., 620, 1851. **Comancha.**—Barreiro, Ojeada, app., 9, 1832. **Comanchees.**—Abert in Emory, Recon., 470, 1848. **Comanchero.**—Gregg, Comm. Prairies, II, 56, 1844 (Spanish form). **Comanches.**—Sanchez (1757) in Doc. Hist. Mex., 4th s., I, 88, 1856. **Comanchos.**—Taylor in Cal. Farmer, Apr. 10, 1863. **Comandes.**—Maximilian, Trav., 510, 1843. **Comandus.**—Alegre, Hist. Comp. Jesus, I, 336, 1841. **Comanshima.**—Bourke, Mosquis of Ariz., 118, 1884 (Hopi name). **Comantz.**—Gregg, Comm. Prairies, II, 54, 1844 (Comanche pronunciation). **Comauch.**—Morse, Rep. to Sec. War, 374, 1822 (misprint). **Cumanche.**—Doc. of 1720 quoted by Bandelier in Arch. Inst. Pap., V, 183, 1890. **Cumanciaa.**—Long, Exped. to Rocky Mts., I, 478, 1823. **Cumeches.**—Schermerhorn in Mass. Hist. Coll., II, 29, 1812. **Dä'tsĭ-an.**—Gatschet, MS., B. A. E. (Kiowa Apache name). **Gyal'-ka.**—Mooney in 14th Rep. B. A. E., 1043, 1896 ('enemies': Kiowa name). **Idahi.**—Ibid. (Kiowa Apache name). **Indé.**—Hodge, field notes, B. A. E., 1905 (Jicarilla name).

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